

Political History Collection  
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**Interviewed by:** Melvyn Goldstein, Tashi Tsering  
**Name:** Phüntso Yügye [Tib. phun tshogs g.yul rgyal]  
**Gender:** Male  
**Age:** ca. 61  
**Date of Birth:** ca. 1932

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## Abstract

Phüntso Yügye [Tib. phun tshogs g.yul rgyal] was from a miser family and was conscripted into the Dalai Lama's dance troupe. He later became a clerk in the Tseja Office. In this interview, he discusses the People's Association of 1952, the disagreements between the two sitsab and the Chinese, and the sitsabs' demotion. He details some anti-Taktra and anti-Chinese songs sung in Lhasa, and how the prices of foodstuffs increased. He also describes his first impressions of the Chinese and how the Kashag told him to teach Tibetan songs to the Chinese performance group in the Chinese Military Headquarters. He talks in detail about his dislike of the Kudrak because he said they suppressed and exploited the people in the countryside. He also tells about how he was promoted to the position of clerk and the US support for the Khambas in Lhoka, as well as the Khamba's battles in Nyemo and the fake Khambas. Finally he discusses the events of the March 10th uprising.

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## Tape 1

**Q:** I am writing a book about the history [of Tibet] from 1951-1959, so I am collecting the experiences of people like you and what they heard. When the Chinese first came to Tibet in 1951, were you in Lhasa? What were you doing?

**A:** I was a young gadrukpa dancer in the Dalai Lama's ceremonial dance troupe. I was here when the Chinese, carrying different kinds of flags, arrived.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: Dr. Goldstein wants you to tell the truth about everything you know about the political events that occurred in the years 1951-1959.

**Q:** For example, at the beginning of 1951 [1952], the People's Association was set up. Were you aware of that?

**A:** At the time they set up the People's Association, there were people like Bisu [Tib. spel zur], Alo Chöndze [Tib. a lo chos mdzad] and Amchi Anan [Tib. em chi a nan], who was lame.

**Q:** What did you think at that time?

**A:** I was a young dancer. When the People's Association was set up, I heard that the Chinese said that they wanted the park called Kushulinga [Tib. ku shu gling ga], where the Radio Broadcast Station is now located. Later it was called the Gyangdrag linga [Tib. rgyang grags gling ga]. Lukhangwa was the sitsab and there was the Drunyichemmo Angula [Tib. am gug lags].

At that time, a kind of general assembly meeting was held in Ewam Hall that is located on top of the Jokhang. The Chinese were saying that Lukhangwa and Lobsang Tashi [Tib. blo bzang bkra shis] should be demoted because they were the main supporters of the People's Association. The [Tibetan] government didn't make the decision easily because they had already been appointed as a kind of sitsab after the Regent Talungdra's fall.

This matter was connected to many other issues, like firstly, the People's Association had risen up. Secondly, there were some political problems in the government and the Chinese were saying that they wanted some areas and parks. Mainly the Chinese wanted Shugtri linga [Tib. bzugs khri gling ga] [the park in front of the Potala] and Kushu linga, which was located just to the west of the Potala.

I didn't attend the meeting and I hadn't joined [the government] as a clerk [Tib. lto zan]. I was just a gadrukpa. When they held the

meeting at the Jokhang, the Chinese officials were present.

**Q:** Was that meeting for demoting Lukhangwa?

**A:** It was related to both issues, Lukhangwa and about the space issue. Drunyichemmo Angula said at the meeting, "Bring Ngabö here! We didn't write about giving Shugtri linga and Kushu linga in the 17-Point Agreement. [all laughing on tape]. As for me, if I lose, I will lose this," and he pointed to his satin garment [Tib. gos stod] and he said, "this is 108."

**Q:** What did he mean?

**A:** He meant that he was the head of 108 tsidrung. This was widely known in the society. When the Chinese said that the sitsab should be demoted, I was a child and didn't have much idea of things, but people heard that the sitsab were going to get demoted because they were consistently opposing the Chinese. Later, in the next year, the two of them were kind of shunted aside [Tib. zur du bzha] and the religious and the political power was offered to the Dalai Lama. At that time, people in Lhasa sang this song:

"Offered it up, offered it up  
They offered it up the one that is torn to shreds  
political power to the hands of Dalai Lama."  
[Tib. phul song lags dang phul song  
rtsab ral phyag la phul song]. [The People's Association also sang this song against Talungdra with the words:]  
"The standing Boddhisatwa [Dalai Lama] and  
The tail of the bending ox.  
Making it into tatters,  
The ox's tail did it." [The ox tail refers to Taktra]  
[Tib. ker ker byang 'chub sems dpa'.  
sgur sgur glang gi mjug ma.  
rtsab ral bsos dang ma bzos.  
glang gi mjug mas bzos song]

**Q:** Were there any sarcastic songs about the Chinese?

**A:** Yes, there were songs regarding the increasing price of butter.

**Q:** Do you remember them?

**A:** Yes, I remember a little bit. The price of butter had increased up to 100 ngüsang for one khe [7 gyama]. That is equal to 5 yuan. We called the hundred sang note a Gyalor [Tib. brgya lor]. They sang the song:

"Mao Zedong! The price of the butter has increased up to hundred note.  
You said that you are going to liberate us. This is very greedy. You came to Tibet and made all of the prices increase."  
[Tib. mar la brgya lor chags song  
mao tse tung lags  
bcing bkrol gtong gi yin zer  
ham pa tsha mdog kha pos  
nga tsho'i bod la yong rjes,  
dngos rigs sgang ga spar song.  
[Actually, this song was: Mao yis bcing bkrol btang nas  
mar la brgya lor chags song  
ham pa tsha mdogs kha pos  
dngos rigs sgang ga 'phar song]]

At that time, the Chinese came, 1 pack of 7 round pieces of jaril (brick tea) [Tib. ja ril] was 3 sang and 1 khe of barley was 25 sang. The very highest was 30 sang. Later, one khe of barley cost 100 sang as did one khe of butter.

The Chinese were behaving very nicely in society. Even when they were slapped, they were kind of saying sorry. This was the policy then and their politics were very evil and deceitful. This was because they had to eat [gobble up, take over] this small land of ours. At that time, all the people didn't like the Chinese, but they didn't have anything to do because the land was lost to them.

So, people sang a song with the words;

"Ngabö went aggressively.  
[but] came back after losing Chamdo."  
[Tib. nga phod ngar nas phyin song.  
chab mdo bskyal nas slebs byung]

When people had to go to the Chinese hospital, they showed affection to them like parents. This was how they deceived the people.

**Q:** Did the masses think that we heard that the Chinese were like devils, but when we saw them, actually they were okay?

**A:** No, no. They didn't think like that. Except for a few two-faced people, the people in Lhasa were consistently [opposing the Chinese]. I was also duped many times. I was a young dancer like you [said to TT]. Once it was said that an order from the Kashag said that me and my pupil Tashi Tsering [Tib. bkra shis tshe ring] had to go to the Song and Dance Ensemble [Ch. wen gong tuan] of the Military Headquarters [Ch. jun qu] to teach songs. But the two of us didn't go there at all. Tashi Tsering was my under my control because he was my pupil. I didn't like the Chinese at all because our ideology is like this [probably touching the backsides of his palms to express opposites]. Then I said "Let's go play mahjong rather than going there," and we went to the Jintian [Tib. spyi mda'i] Restaurant to play mahjong.

We just went there once a week in order to avoid [criticism]. The Chinese taught us how to read music notes and we just taught them 2-3 words from the Töshe [Tib. stod gzhas] or Nangma songs [traditional songs]. But when we told them we were sick, they sent doctors to give treatment, and they gave us dried milk tins, cigarettes and sugar. They came to deceive me like this, but I didn't get duped. They paid me 300 dayan per month. I accepted it [all laughing on tape]. Anyway, I didn't teach them a single complete Töshe or Nangma. Other people might have taught them.

**Q:** As for the reason that you didn't like the Chinese, was it because they were Chinese or was it because they didn't have religion?

**A:** The reason was because we were different in nature and a separate nationality. Secondly, it was said they were eating many humans. It's true. It was widespread that the Chinese were eating humans. Probably this was true.

**Q:** TT. Probably it was not true. [laughing]

**A:** Don't say that Jola [a term of address used for clerks], I swear by the Three Jewels that I heard they saw pictures posted in Chengdu that they boiled [human] heads in clay pots. The trader who told me this is still here. They were like the trader Shilog who went there.

When we heard that the Chinese were eating humans, the Chinese were saying this was a rumor, but we were really scared when I heard about that, though I didn't see it. Secondly, we had already become enemies and we ate tsamba and they ate rice. So I didn't like the Chinese because of the ideology and they're many similar people [who] didn't like the Chinese. Only a few beggars, wanderers and taxpayer households among the farmers and nomads who were suppressed and exploited by the kudrak of the Tibetan local government liked them 100 percent. They were not to be blamed because they didn't have rights and they had to work. People like us would not like the Chinese because we had the right to eat and the right to live. So I don't like them. After that, they set up many associations

**Q:** The Chinese were saying a little bit that the miser system of Tibet should be reformed. Did the people like you think that you didn't like the Chinese, but it would be better to have the miser system change a little bit, or did you think that the miser system was good? You wouldn't listen if the Chinese tell you that they were going [to do] reforms, but if the Dalai Lama would tell you this, would you have listened to it?

**A:** At that time, the ideology of people like me was to accept that the serf system was unnecessary, and we saw that it was really not good for people to suppress each other. The main thing was the taxpayer households. There wasn't any suppression and exploitation in the city. We had the freedom to do what we liked to do, like trading. We didn't need to pay so many taxes as we have to pay nowadays, which is called Khelheb [Tib. khe lheb] which literally means "the small piece of profit." This actually meant that they [government] was not going to leave a small piece of profit [for the traders]. There wasn't anything like this to be heard in the past.

I was born in Gyantse in the countryside. So I didn't like the kudrak suppressing and exploiting the people. Especially, the head of the dance troupe, the Garpön, beat me up with switches many times. I swear by the Three Jewels about this. I also did something that the head is not to be blamed for. I have never stolen things, but I fought with people and beat them up. And I also talked back to the head. So he held a grudge and when something went wrong, he beat me up. I used to take off my pants and lay down and he'd beat me up, but I never screamed. It was said that I was courageous. Actually, what the hell of courage did I have? I got beaten so severely. [all laughing on tape]. This was suppression. So I didn't like that.

If I would tell you something according to the way of talking in modern times, the kudrak of the Tibetan Government are really not good because they suppressed the people from generation to generation. The people who were enjoying the happiness were enjoying it all the time. At that time, there wasn't any talk about human rights. People were talking about all sentient beings. They didn't have any human rights to claim for. In terms of religion, it was also like that. They were suppressing and exploiting people using the name of religion, and there were the monastic estates. I didn't like it.

I also didn't accept that the Chinese were good. I disliked the suppression and exploitation because I experienced it on my own buttocks. I had to remain scared all the time that the head would say something to me. The wife of the former head used to call me by the nickname, "black wolf [Tib. spyang nag]." This was because I didn't do what she told me to do. Whenever I was sent to graze sheep, I would drive the sheep up to mountain and whenever I was sent to graze horses, I would drive them into the marshy area [Tib. 'dam ra]. Anyway, I was misbehaving. So she didn't like me.

**Q:** TT. Was this the present head?

**A:** No. This was the former one. The present head beat me with switches many times because the two of us were holding different viewpoints. He was kind of doing quite a lot of stylish things [Tib. byed bzo] and acting as if he was the greatest. So I didn't like him because although I don't have any knowledge of writing in terms of songs and dances, I wouldn't yield to him. I could challenge the head, but now there is a big difference. He used to go through the motions of saying that I was his right shoulder. Actually, this was a lie and he would beat me up every time. He really did this to me, I swear by the Three Jewels. I served the

chief as servant many times for both the former and present head.

**Q:** TT. I heard that the former head was bad. The present is probably okay, right?

**A:** No, they were the same.

**Q:** TT. The present should be better than the former one because the PLA had arrived. We also knew that they were going to lose their power when we heard that the PLA arrived, right? Sometimes, when we cursed, we used to say, "It would be good if they would liberate us."

**A:** This present head was not like that. He was very malicious [Tib. gnag po].

**Q:** TT. When the Dalai Lama went to Tromo, the dancer Tenzin Gyentsen [Tib. bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan] was a clerk in the Tseja Treasury in Potala Palace [Tib. rtse phyag]. At that time, the Dalai Lama left surreptitiously. So how could he have gone to the head and ask for leave because he was going among the Dalai Lama's retinue? After he went with the retinue surreptitiously and came back, the head went to beat him up with switches. I saw that.

**A:** Lhakpa Tsering [Tib. lhag pa tshe ring] prostrated to the head and requested that he not whip him. Actually, Tenzin Gyentsen's title was higher than the head, but we went to beat him up.

**Q:** TT. The head said that "He didn't ask me for leave, so I should start tanning the tiger skin from the head [Tib. stag lpags mgo nas mnyed dgos]." He was very aggressive and one day they held a meeting and he sent the late clerk Lhakpa Thöndrup to cut the switches for beating him. They made him lay down and raise up his chupa. Then the ex-head of the dance troupe called Dorje la [Tib. rdo rje lags] and Lhakpa Tsering kind of held or covered the head and they didn't let him beat him up. When Tenzin Gyentsen got up, he hit him on his back. At that time, it was said that the dance troupe had the right to exercise the legal jurisdiction over the dancers [Tib. khriims 'go rang btsan]. Regarding this, they filed a law case to Phala Drönyerchemmo in the Secretariat of the Dalai Lama [Tib. rtse 'gag]. He interrogated both parties many times. How did they settle the law case?

**A:** Later, Tenzin Gyentsen resigned from the dance troupe association [Tib. gar pa'i skyid sdug] and left 200 dotse for the common dancers [Tib. gar pa tshogs chen] This was supposed to be the fine for resigning because Lamoshar [Tib. la mo shar] Jola also left 200 dotse.

**Q:** TT. At that time, there weren't many people who liked to join the dance troupe because it was cruel and discipline was strict.

**A:** I was beaten up with the switches about 10 ten times and each time, they beat me 50-60 times.

**Q:** TT. I wasn't really beaten [on the buttock], but they the head hit me on my calf with other dancers.

**A:** That's why I didn't like them [the heads]. Otherwise, shit! We won't say thank you to the Chinese because they took over our land. The People's Association did a lot of things and built the golden throne. After one association was dispersed, another was set up and made the Chushigandru. When they were building the golden throne, Bisu and those people were shut up in the Police Station.

They were said to be shut in, but they called prostitutes at night because they had money and enjoyed parties in the daytime. This was true. I went there because I was very friendly with one of the shengo called Bulag, who was a soldier from Lhangam Phünsum [Tib. lha ngam phun gsum] [i.e. Lhatse [Tib. lha rtse], Ngamring [Tib. ngam ring] and Phüntsoling [Tib. phun tshogs gling]]. He liked me a lot because I was kind of humorous. So I went through the motions of going to visit my friend and actually I went to look at what the people of People's Association people were doing. I saw them playing mahjong all the time and they were basically under house arrest.

**Q:** Did the masses support them?

**A:** Yes. All the people were supporting them consistently. I mean the people in Lhasa. I don't know about the people in the countryside.

**Q:** Did the people think that the People's Association would really become influential?

**A:** Yes. I thought that they would be influential. According to my point of view, they were fighting, but it was definite and I knew 100 percent that we would lose the war.

**Q:** Did you think you would lose the war?

**A:** Yes, but we were still fighting.

**Q:** Why did you fight?

**A:** We thought we probably would get support from your country [US]. [all laughing]. The Magji Jangjan Lokhog [Tib. lchang can blo khog?] [Lodrö Kelsang [Tib. blo gros skal bzang]] had told me, "Jola! There is no problem. We have support from America. The rifles called Tashi Kharing [Tib. bkra shis kha ring] were supplied by the US to Chushigandru. Now the war has taken place here."

**Q:** TT. This was when the revolt took place, right?

**A:** Yes. The reason why we had pity on the people of the People's Association who were arrested and the masses also had that kind of viewpoint was because the Chinese had controlled us and the Tibetan Government didn't have any choice but to shut them in there. So all of the masses felt sorrow about them and they were saying, "What a pity." All the well-off people were being

arrested and the Tibetan government didn't have anything to do. What the Magji told me was not at the time of the revolt in 1959.

**Q:** TT. First tell us something about going to teach songs in the Military Headquarters. What year was that? In 1956-57, I went to Tsang, I think it was at that time, right?

**A:** Probably, we were sent there saying it was an order from the Kashag.

**Q:** Why did the Chinese learn songs?

**A:** At that time, the Chinese didn't know the Töshe and Nangma songs.

**Q:** TT. At that time, it was called the Dance and Song Ensemble of the Military Headquarters [Ch. jun qu wen gong tuan]. They learned the Tibetan Töshe and Nangma and they also performed it.

**A:** They taught us the musical scale notes called Do Re Mi fa Xi La Suo. We Tibetans had the note called Tre Gong Rang Tre. Drönyerchemmo Phala and the present head also sent me to Trimön House to learn the violin.

**Q:** TT. Phala was the direct leader of the Dance and Song Troupe.

**A:** The leader of the Military Headquarter was called Alo Buzhang. He told us, "I have a request for you. One person is blind and another person doesn't have legs. The blind carried the man without legs on his back and the man with the eyesight showed the road. This is an example. We came to this unfamiliar place. So we have to cooperate and expose the works of the Tibetan Local Government." He just went through the motions of teaching violin, but mainly he was asking me about politics. Actually, I didn't learn it well. I just went for one day and played mahjong for the other day. I had a good memory and I could learn right away whatever I was taught. But I didn't want to go there at all.

**Q:** Did you stop going to the Military Headquarters?

**A:** Yes, I stopped going there. In the years 1957-58, the disturbance was about to start like nowadays. The masses were rising up a little bit and the [Chinese] suppressed them and the local government was also suppressing them. It was like the present situation where the masses raise their head and he [Chinese] presses it down. I didn't do much because I had already become a Jola [clerk in the Tseja]. I became a Jola on the 19th of the 3rd month of 1953. There were 18 Shauli [Tib. shau li], or junior clerks, right?

**Q:** TT. There were 16 Shauli junior clerks and 16 senior Jola, right?

**A:** No, there were more than that. The Dalai Lama approved that Migmar Gökye [Tib. mig dmar rgos skyes] and I would be the additional Shauli to be seated on top of the other shauli and whenever there would be a position of the senior clerks two of us would become senior Jola.

**Q:** TT. It was kind of strange and they came on top of all of us. Phüntso La [Tib. phun tshogs lags] and I joined the clerks through back door relations.

**A:** This was because they had money, right?

**Q:** TT. Not really because we had money, but we had backers and we became Jola very early. But we had to go to perform dances like the gadrukpa, and we had to work for the taxes and abide the laws of the dance and song troupe.

**A:** Later, the two of us got the position of senior clerk. After that, when I got little older and I had grown a beard, I started to have strong political thoughts because I got the position in the Tibetan Government. The society was like nowadays and there were different associations and when one is pressed down, another would rise.

**Q:** Did you have the thought of joining an association?

**A:** I didn't join the Association at all because we were working in the Tseja Office. So I didn't have relations with the Association and my economic condition got better. And we knew about the situation outside through passing information to each other, like about the meetings held in the government. The reason I didn't join the Association was that if I would join the Association, I would have to give up the office because I had to go to the office every day and write the arrival notes.

**Q:** In 1957, when the revolt took places on the other side of the Yangtze River [Tib. 'bri chu] and the Khambas came to Lhasa, did you think that when the Dalai Lama returned from India in 1957, the revolt would take place soon?

**A:** No, I heard that the Tibetans had contacted the Chinese and the situation had calmed down. And people were saying that maybe the reforms would be implemented or maybe not. It was also widespread that if the people agreed to the reforms, they would be implement and if the people disagreed, they wouldn't do the reforms. It was said that the kudrak of the Tibetan Government wouldn't like the reforms so they would stop the reforms and they would be postponed for many years and in the meanwhile, if there would be a revolt, because of the US support, there was hope we would win. There was also talk of getting help from France and the liar India, but actually they wouldn't help us. There was a lot of talk, but the American really helped the Tibetans.

The American guns called Tashi Kharing that were dropped from planes to the Chushigandru were like bren-guns. Its muzzle was like a bren-gun. Once you pulled back the rifle bolt, then you can just pull the trigger for 8 bullets. You don't need to pull it back for each shot.

**Q:** TT. I heard it held 8 bullets.

**Q:** That was probably a carbine.

**A:** It had a long barrel like the 303 English Carbine, but the muzzle was bell shaped like a bren-gun. It was an automatic rifle.

**Q:** Did they drop that in Drigu?

**A:** Yes, in 1958. The Dalai Lama had gone to Ganden Monastery and we were there. While the Dalai Lama was at Ganden, a villager in a white chupa like a beggar arrived from Nyemo. He said that the Chinese and Khambas had fought a battle and Chinese artillery hit the rocks and killed several Khambas.

**Q:** Was this the time when the Chushigandru went to Shang to get the guns?

**A:** Yes. He had been sent by the Khambas to give this message. This was done secretly. They couldn't do it openly because the uncle [the Chinese] had blocked all the roads in front and also in the back.

**Q:** Did you see him in person?

**A:** I saw him myself and he came to make the report,

**Q:** What did he report?

**A:** He said the battle was fought with the Chinese and so and so military officers [Tib. dmag dpon] of Chushigandru were killed, and he listed the names of other Khambas who died at that time. But I forget the names.

**Q:** Did the Khambas send him?

**A:** Yes. He he was from the countryside.

**Q:** It was strange that they sent a person from the countryside to deliver the message. It seems that they had a relationship with the miser, right?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** TT. Did the man deliver the message to the Dalai Lama directly?

**A:** I swear by the Three Jewels that I didn't know about this. They had to make the report to Drönyerchemmo. They were staying in Trithog khang [Tib. khri thog khang] and our room was under that. So I saw him going there.

**Q:** Did he go to the Kashag or Drönyerchemmo?

**A:** Not to the Kashag. To the drönyerchemmo. I heard from the messenger that some of the leaders of Chushigandru were killed and the Khambas also cut the Chinese into two pieces and fought with the Chinese toughly.

**Q:** What did you think when you heard that? Did you think of fighting?

**A:** I thought that was well done. I was determined to fight and I was eager to fight with the Chinese. I swear by the Three Jewels that I hoped there would quickly be a war. I thought it would be best to have a decision and make the bodies shatter into pieces [Tib. sha 'thor rus 'thor] and I didn't care if I would die. And I didn't have any thought of delaying. I was also show-offish and I wanted to fight.

**Q:** What did the kudrak think?

**A:** Shit! These dogs didn't know anything. They were kind of without substance. [all laughing] I swear by the Three Jewels, I am not sure whether they wanted to fight or not. They were afraid they would lose their privileges and they were frightened. They probably didn't think that the war will take place and we could win the war. I didn't like them very much and I didn't have relations with them.

**Q:** The war in Nyemo was the first one, right?

**Q:** TT. When did they fought at the Jagsam ferry site?

**A:** It was in 1958.

**Q:** TT. What happened at Jagsam?

**A:** They made a war there.

**Q:** Where is Jagsam located?

**A:** It was just across the Chushul Bridge.

**Q:** TT. They made a quite a severe battle and many Chinese jumped into the river.

**A:** It was in 1959 when many Chinese jumped into the river.

TT. I heard that one Khamba died. The Khambas shot the Chinese when they were passing the narrow passage and the Chinese didn't have anything they could do so the first Chinese truck that was loaded with ammunition fell into the river. They deliberately drove into the river to avoid the Khambas getting the ammunition. They exchanged fire many times and the Chinese hid under the truck and didn't come out. So the first truck drove into the river and a fire burned in the corner. The Khambas ran away from that place.

**Q:** TT. Was that after the revolt in Norbulinga?

**A:** It was at the time when it was said that the revolt was going to take place and there was some fighting everywhere, but not in Lhasa. This was probably at the end of 1958.

**Q:** Did you know about the help from the US at the time the messenger came to Ganden?

**A:** I knew before that. It was widely heard in Lhasa that the Tashi Kharing were air-dropped and people were extremely glad, and I was also glad that US was helping and they were not telling lies.

**Q:** Did you consider the Khambas reliable?

**A:** Yes, we believed in them. But at this time, the main reason that the miser didn't like the Khambas was because there were false Chushigandru sent by the uncle [Chinese]. We had our Chushigandru.

The Khambas had good discipline and if someone violated their rules, the only way was to die. The false Chushigandru sent by the Chinese killed people by cutting them into two pieces, had sex with women, robbed people and they did a lot of things. The Chinese sent their false Chushigandru after our real Chushigandru left. This had a very bad influence on the miser and spoiled the name of the real Chushigandru [with people] saying that they were robbing, killing and raping. I knew a cadre named Gen Gyentsenla [Tib. rgyan rgyal mtshan lags] from Markham [Tib. smar khams] who admitted this and said he was sent among the false Chushigandru to Nyemo and those places.

**Q:** Are there some of them still alive?

**A:** Damn! Not even a single one is left. All of them died. They bought horses and let them carry the 303 English Carbine and they followed wherever the real Chushigandru went and robbed, raped and did all the destructive things. The purpose was to make the people rebel against the Chushigandru. At that time, I also had hatred towards the Chushigandru thinking if they killed people and raped women, this was really a conduct of a bandit. Later, when the revolt was quelled and I met the cadres, I swear by the Three Jewels that Gyentsen La told me that they went as false Chushigandru.

**Q:** What was the plan of the Dalai Lama after coming back from Ganden?

**A:** The Dalai Lama's plan was to go from Ganden to Chönkorgye [Tib. chos 'khor rgyal] Lake. But because of the Nyemo revolt, he returned straight to Lhasa. He was planning to go to Chönkorgye from Norbulinga, but he was unable to go.

If the Dalai Lama went to Chönkorgye, I would have accompanied him as staff. Then he decided to skip the trip. Then at the Tsegutor, the Chinese came to Potala and they performed at Potala. The Chinese performed an opera at the front of the Dalai Lama's eastern room called Shargyü Simjung [Tib. shar rgyud gzim chung]. I was serving tea. The show had a fish with 2 girls in it, and one moved the body and the other made the eyes move, and Dalai Lama liked this a lot. It was said that the Dalai Lama liked the show and said that he would like to watch it once again. So the Chinese said, "We will do it again at the Chinese Military Headquarter[Ch. jun qu] and you can come." So he said yes. It was decided that he would go on the 1st of the 2nd month.

On the 1st, I went to Norbulinga early because I and some others were supposed to sprinkle water on the dirt road. Also we were to put up the [Tib. rdo bstar], the line of stones on the side of road followed by a [Tib. dkar thig] white line. There were Tibetan and Chinese soldiers lined up along the road.

**Q:** How did you learn about the Dalai Lama's going?

**A:** I had already heard that the Dalai Lama was going to be invited to the Military Headquarters.

**Q:** When did you hear that?

**A:** I heard this on the 28th or 29th. So I went to Norbulinga in the early morning of the day he was going there.

**Q:** Did the masses know about his visit to the Military Headquarters on the 30th?

**A:** Yes. They made a notice to society saying that the Dalai Lama was going to be invited to the Military Headquarters and if we don't stop him, he would be taken to China on the sly.

**Q:** TT. From where did this notice come from?

**A:** They just delivered the notice to each other in Lhasa.

**Q:** Did they make the notice on that night?

**A:** I heard it on the 30th.

**Q:** TT. Who told you this?

**A:** I just heard it from the society.

**Q:** TT. At that time, you were staying in Shöl, right?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** TT. Were you staying in Drebu Yülkha [Tib. 'bras bu g.yul kha]?

**A:** No. I was in Garjang [Tib. mgar byang] house. I heard this from the place where I was playing mahjong.

**Q:** TT. Where did you play mahjong?

**A:** It was probably in the home of Paljor La [Tib. dpal 'byor lags] in Shugtri Linga [Tib. bzhugs khri gling ga].

[Trindor, who was present in Lhasa then, added: A Korchagpa came with a message saying that "The Dalai Lama is going to the Military Headquarters and they will take him to China, so everyone should go to block the road." To have been able to order the Korchagpa to do this had to have come from a government head like the Mipön.]

At 6 a.m. the next morning, our leader, the Garpön, sent Ngawang Norbu [Tib. ngag dbang nor bu] to me with a message saying, "Come to Norbulinga today. There is a meeting." I knew about this [the Dalai Lama's visit] yesterday from a mahjong game so when he [Ngawang] came, I had already gotten up and I was about to leave. Then when I went there they were doing all the preparations. On the road, there were Chinese troops with metal detector devices checking the road.

**Q:** What road was that?

**Q:** Do you mean from Jarag [Tib. sbyar rag]?

**A:** The road was from the main gate of the TAR directly to the gate of the Military Headquarters.

**Q:** Were there Chinese soldiers standing from the TAR right up to Norbulinga?

**A:** Yes. There were soldiers lined up from Kündeling [Tib. kun bde gling].

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: So the soldiers were lined from the gate of the Military Headquarters, through the front of Potala and down to the gate of Norbulinga?

**A:** No. They were not right near Norbulinga. They were just above the Chabgo [Tib. chab mgo] [bridge].

**Q:** Were Chinese soldiers at the front of Kündeling?

**A:** Yes. There were Chinese and Tibetan troops side by side and lined up. At that time, the Chinese soldiers were holding their guns at the right side, so I used to curse them saying why don't you hold your gun on the left side like the Tibetan soldiers.

When I reached Norbulinga's main gate, there was a mass of people. There were Khambas, Lhasa people, some on horses, some with guns, some with swords. So I went right into the main gate. Inside the door there were Gusung Regiment soldiers defending it. Our office was inside Norbulinga, so I left my bike there and went to the kitchen to have tea. The Garpön came and he convened all the dancers to a meeting outside the kitchen and said, "Today the Dalai Lama is going to the Military Headquarters, so you all have to stop him by lying on the road so the car can't go and tell him, 'Please don't go.'" At that time, all of us said "Yes."

After that, I didn't know where the Garpön went. At the front of the Tse ga, we, the dancers, were all boasting and saying that "The Dalai Lama will not go. Today we will confront the Chinese." This was about 10 a.m. Many people were going out the main door at this time. I heard the mob was stoning each other. So I went to the main gate. I saw Surkhang coming to the gate.

**Q:** TT. Did he have a car?

**A:** No. He had left it somewhere and was on foot. The soldiers went out to greet him and brought him in. Otherwise, the masses came to hit him saying, "Until now, have you gotten attached to the dayan?" The soldiers took him from among the midst of the mob to safety inside. Then as soon as Surkhang got inside they locked the gate. That left me outside. Then Sambo came towards the gate in his car. People shouted, "The bandit is coming [Tib. jag pa yong gi]," and they stoned his car. There were both men and women doing this. Then a Chinese bodyguard opened the front door and started to get out waving a Mauser pistol. Then Sambo started to get out but a rock hit him in the forehead and knocked him flat backwards in the car. He was wearing a yellow satin uniform which became variegated [Tib. khra khra]. The driver was very skilled since he was able to turn the car around immediately and was able to get away, although the jeep rubbed a little bit on the barbed wire. It was a jeep with a canvas roof.

**Q:** Why were they stoning him?

**A:** They were scolded him, saying "Why didn't you come earlier? Did you stay there and get attached to the dayan silver coins?" They meant that he was staying there serving the Chinese.

[Trindorla says some people were saying to stone him, but his friend said others were saying "It's a Tibetan Government Official [Tib. sde pa gzhung sku drag], so don't stone him."]



**Q:** Did they know that he was Sambo?

**A:** Yes they did. And they said, "Ngabö will come, we should wait for him."

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: I heard they thought it was Ngabö and stoned him and the stone became a precious stone [Tib. rdo nor bu] for him and he became progressive. Do you think they mistook him for Ngabö and stoned him?

**A:** This was what a woman said, but they didn't mistake him as Ngabö and they knew it was Sambo. He came there and was opening the door of the car, so how could they mistake him? And there were Chinese in the car and they were trying to shoot the masses.

**Q:** Did the Chinese sit in the front seat?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** The Chinese got out carrying guns and Sambo also came out, right?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: Did Sambo have a gun?

**A:** I didn't see him carrying a gun. I saw him get hit and fall back into the car. Sambo was in the back in a yellow satin uniform. Sambo never got a foot on the ground. As soon as he opened the door the stone hit him.

[Trindorla: The Chinese at the time of the revolt had 3 points in their talks: (1) Phagpalha [Tib. 'phags pa lha] Khenjung was murdered, (2) the Vice Commander-in-Chief [Ch. siling Tib. gzhonba] was injured and (3) there was a mob who rushed into a bank or store (couldn't recall more).]

**A:** Then people in the mob said, "Now let's wait a bit and Ngabö will come." But he never came. Then Phagpalha Khenjung came riding a bike. He was wearing a knit hat and a mouth mask. When he came, I was standing near the stone lion. He left the bike near the stone lion and then a Khamba called out, "The spy has come," and then people started stoning him. At that point, I went inside Norbulinga and they immediately closed the gate. So Khenjung came forward to the gate, but he was unable to enter Norbulinga.

Then I went upstairs in the gate where there was small room where the soldiers stayed and then the gate was closed. I heard the people saying all kinds of things like "running dog" and "spy" and, when I looked from the window, I saw the people stoning him. He pulled out a pistol and fired three shots into the air. He didn't shoot at the people. I saw this all clearly. He probably tried to scare away the people, but they didn't move. One woman threw a stone that knocked off his hat. He had a cleanly shaved head. Then a Khamba hit him on the head with a sword, but the sword didn't cut him at all and some dust rose up. I thought that this person really must have had a protective talisman [Tib. mtshon srung]. Then they stoned him to death.

**Q:** At the beginning, they said he was a spy. Later did you know that he was Phagpalha Khenjung?

**A:** No, I didn't because he was wearing a mouth mask.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: Did you know that he was Phagpalha Khenjung?

**A:** I didn't. People said that he was Phagpalha Khenjung.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: Right at that time, nobody knew that he was the khenjung, right?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** Did they know that he was a spy?

**A:** Yes, they said the spy has come.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: Was he killed on the right side of the gate?

**A:** He was killed on the left side, near the stone lion. He was stoned to death. Later, Champa [Tib. byams pa], the servant of Garjang [Tib. mgar byang], took away Phagpalha Khenjung's gun. He was imprisoned for 12 years for that. [Tashi Tsering: He was among the 30 people who were labeled [as a reactionary].]

**Q:** Did the Gusung soldiers say stop that, etc.?

**A:** No, they were inside with the door closed, and they were on the roof and at the windows. Then they [the mob] tied a rope to his neck and dragged him to town, but I didn't see this myself.

Then at 4-5 p.m., Phala Drönyerchemmo came to the top of the wall at the main gate. He told the crowd, "All of you go home. Don't make disturbances at the door of Norbulinga. The Chinese will not do anything to the Dalai Lama and they won't come to take the Dalai Lama. We have the Gusung [Bodyguard troops] here, so we don't need many more people. This is the Dalai Lama's own order."

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: What time did he say that?

**A:** He said this in the evening after they killed the people.

**Q:** Was it around 4-5 p.m.?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** Was it Phala who said that?

**A:** Yes, after that, Surkhang spoke to the crowd from top of the main gate while the gate was closed. The people shouted "Don't tell lies! You are attached to dayan coins! [Tib. kas ma bin ma shod/rda yang la mgo chags gi yod red]" Shit! They didn't regard them (with respect) as Kungö. Then Phala said, "Okay, don't act like this. Send in some representatives of the masses to discuss things."

**Q:** At the beginning, they didn't listen to them, right?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** After that, they called the representatives, right?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** Do you remember the representatives?

**A:** So they sent in about 500-600 representatives consisting of Khambas, Pöba, and monks, and they held a meeting in the Shabten Lhakhang [Tib. zhabs brtan lha khang] in Norbulinga.

The meeting was held and Phala came to the meeting. There were representatives of the carpenters and workers, and of the Sera and Drepung Monasteries. There were a lot of representatives. I was at the meeting as a tea server. Then Jawdang [Tib. lcog steng] Drunyichemmo Talama Thubden Norsang [Tib. thub bstan nor bzang] came to speak at the meeting. He prostrated before the masses, and then he said, "I am going to tell you the Dalai Lama's own order. He said, 'All of you should not cause disturbances and all must be calm and go home. And when you go back, publicize to the people in your own neighborhood not to make disturbances in Norbulinga.'"

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: Did he prostrate?

**A:** Yes, I saw him touching his forehead to the ground.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: This was not the Kyangchag [Tib. brkyangs phyag]. That was the prostration in which the body is extended flat on the ground, right?

**A:** Yes. It was the Kumchag [Tib. skum phyag] which was prostrating on knees without fully extending one's body. The Talama was crying and burst into tears. But the representatives shouted, "Don't tell lies. The Dalai Lama didn't say that."

**Q:** Did the representatives say that?

**A:** Yes, they [officials] didn't have any power. When they [the people] wanted to shout, it was terrible and they [representatives] scolded them so much. Nobody was taking account of them [the officials].

**Q:** What did Talama do?

**A:** He didn't have anything to do. Then they made the representatives into groups [Tib. tshogs pa] and went out. And they discussed and signed their names, differentiating the people eating tsampa and the people eating rice [signed that they were with Tibetans not with the Chinese].

**Q:** Why did they make groups?

**A:** Just before Talama spoke, Manang Abo got up and spoke. He stood up and said, "All of you should keep quiet. I want to say something. Previously in Kham there was a famous lama named Dzogchen Pema Ringdzin [Tib. rdzogs chen pad ma rig 'dzin]. The Chinese took him to a meeting in the Chinese regiment on such and such a time, and later he never came back and we never learned where he had gone to. Similarly, today the Dalai Lama will be taken to the Military Headquarters and then he will be taken to China. So we must never accept his going to the Military Headquarters and must oppose this completely." At that time, the people said, "That's right."

**Q:** Did Talama answer that?

**A:** No, he didn't say anything because all of the people said "That's right [to what Manang Abo said]."

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: I heard that two of the Khambas with white hair said something, do you remember that?

**A:** Around 50-60 people talked a lot.

**Q:** What did they say?

**A:** The main point was, "Do not take the Dalai Lama to the Military Headquarters."

**Q:** I heard that the officials told the people that three of the kalön went to the Military Headquarters and told them that the Dalai Lama would not come, so there was no problem.

**A:** Yes, they told the people that it was decided that the Dalai Lama would not to go there many times.

**Q:** They still didn't listen to it, right?

**A:** Yes, it was out of question for them to listen.

**Q:** The masses didn't trust them, right?

**A:** Yes, they were saying it was a lie. Nobody said that it was true.

[Trindor: There were really 6-7 key leaders who the Dalai Lama later told he was fleeing. Two of these were his neighbor, the house manager [Tib. khang gnyer] of Tshomönling [Tib. tshe smon gling] and Gyagpön Injungla [Tib. en chung lags].

**A:** Talama also said that we asked for a prophecy from the deity Nechung Dorje Drangden [Tib. gnas chung rdo rje grags ldan] and the deity said, "Use peaceful means, not military ones." [Tib. zhi ba ma gtogs drag po byed rgyu mi 'dug],

**Q:** Do you think if Dalai Lama had come in person, the people would have listened?

**A:** Yes, for sure. Who could not listen to him? If there would be a bad person, he would instigate and the people would know his ideology and they would chop him up right away.

**Q:** Were all of them representatives or were there officials attending the meeting?

**A:** Both were there. And there were the abbots of the Sera, Drepung and Ganden and the chandzö. It was a general assembly. When everything was confirmed, then the representatives told the people to sign the document whether they were going to be a tsamba eater or a rice eater. This means that if you liked the Chinese, you could go there. If you liked the Tibetans, you should be a Tibetan. Of course, people will be Tibetans. I was also there and signed the document.

**Q:** What did the heading of the document you signed say? Did it talk about gaining Tibetan independent?

**A:** No, there wasn't anything like that.

**Q:** Was it just a blank paper and you signed your name?

**A:** No, there was a heading to it, but I didn't know that and nobody read the heading. I just signed it. I was aggressive and only wanted to fight. I didn't have any thought of calming down and listening to them. That day, I only poured one cup and then did not to serve the officials tea, although the tea didn't run out. I just stayed there looking at them. After the meeting was over, people went back. It was decided to divide up Norbulinga into areas and people were assigned to guard the areas. For example, this section is Drepung's, this is Amdo's, this was for the traders, etc.

**Q:** Were those people representatives?

**A:** Yes, the representatives voluntarily stood up and made up the teams.

**Q:** The 8 drunychemmo and Tsipön didn't have power, right?

**A:** That was out of the question. The government officials didn't have the chance to say a word. They [the people] didn't listen even when they said that something was an order from the Dalai Lama. How could they listen to the officials?

**Q:** Tashi Tsering:. If the Dalai Lama came to the meeting in person, then they would they have listened, right?

**A:** Yes, as I told you before. There were many Chinese spies in there.

**Q:** Really?

**A:** Yes. There were many spies dressed [like Tibetans], so they didn't recognize them. If they would recognize them, they would have been killed. Those spies might instigate. Otherwise, if the Dalai Lama came, all the people would have prostrated to him. At that time, the Tibetan Government officials didn't dare to invite him to the meeting because then they would have had to bear the responsibility for his security.

[Trindor: the woman who stoned Phagpalhla khenjung was called Tselhamo [Tib. tshe lha mo].

**Q:** After you signed the document, did the representatives tell you go back [home] and come on the next day?

**A:** They didn't say that, but after dividing into teams, they went back home and meeting was over.

**Q:** The teams were made after the meeting was over, right?

**A:** Yes. Then the divisions were made and the abbots of the Sera and Drepung went back.

[Trindor recalled that they used to rotate. Half staying and half going to Lhasa, and then returning and relieving the others.]

On the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th [of the month], the General Assembly (meeting) was shifted to the Shöl Parkhang [Tib. zhol par khang]. I served tea at the meeting. There were many soldiers guarding outside. There were Trapchi troops. However, when we served tea, the delegates stopped talking for secrecy.

**Q:** Did they stop holding the meeting when you served the tea?

**A:** Yes. We were not among the representatives, but we could go back and forth because we had an identification badge [a strip of cloth with a notch on bottom]. We wore that. If we didn't have the badge, we couldn't go in Norbulinga [means Shöl Parkhang].

[Trindor: Norbulinga had the same system and used the same badge. But no one was allowed into the yellow wall that was guarded by Kudrak.]

**Q:** Tashi Tsering:. Who gave you the badge?

**A:** The government and the organization of the representatives and the government officials.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering:. When did they hold the meeting in the Parkhang?

**A:** I don't remember that.

**Q:** How long did the meeting continue for?

**A:** Until the revolt, but there was a switch later to meet at Kündeling [Tib. kun bde gling] labrang. The change was because it was said that the Chinese had fixed the range for their cannons on Shöl. Once they switched to Kündeling, I didn't serve tea. They sent Tsenden Tashi [Tib. tshe brtan bkra shis] in replace of me, and Söpal [Tib. bsod dpal] was also there.

**Q:** Was he a representative?

**A:** [Tashi Tsering:. We were in the same office in Tseja. He was there to serve tea.

] On the night that the revolt actually took place, I was at home. It was at 2 a.m. Tibetan time on the 10th when they started firing cannons at Norbulinga. I looked at my watch at once and it was 2 a.m. Lhasa time [4 a.m. Beijing time] because I had to wear a military chupa uniform and carry a gun [Tib. drag chas].

**Q:** Tashi Tsering:: It was the morning of 11th at 2 a.m.

[Trindor: It was dark and we also heard the artillery and woke up. There was firing at Tse and Norbulinga].

**A:** They fired first at Norbulinga.

**Q:** From where did they fire the cannons?

**A:** It was fired from Nortölinga [Tib. nor stod gling ga] and also from Trip [Tib. grib] It was fired from two places. I could see the flame of the cannon shells in the darkness from my house that were hitting Norbulinga.

[Trindor: Trip was the main source. It was the 308 Artillery Regiment. The shells were large. They were not the smaller mortar shells].

Then, the stupid [Tib. thod dkar ba] Namgyal Tratsang [Tib. nam rgyal grwa tshang] monks started opening fire from the Potala to the Chinese and I was almost killed.

**Q:** To whom they were shooting?

**A:** They were supposed to shoot them [the Chinese], but they were firing their bren-guns in the dark down toward Shöl and bullets were falling in Shöl. I yelled up to them, "Don't shoot! Your bullets are hitting our people."

**Q:** Could they hear you?

**A:** They could, but they didn't take notice and they were still firing. So I had to go back inside the house and ate some tsamba. I thought I would be left hungry, but I couldn't swallow it well because I was so worked up. I asked my wife Thöndrup Drolma [Tib. don grub sgröl ma] whether she had a first batch of barley beer. She brought some beer in a brass ladle and I drank the beer from the ladle, and I became more relaxed and more courageous. Then while it was still dark, I made 7 gun holes in the wall of our house facing towards the TAR Headquarters.

**Q:** Did you make the holes towards the west?

**A:** I made them facing the TAR (building). Then I went to several other houses in Shöl and saw that there were Trapchi soldiers with bren-guns waiting on the roof of the Shedrokhang [Tib. bzhes spro khang], which was the house where cookies were made. Then I went to Pudongkhang [Tib. ?] and the Trapchi soldiers had mounted bren-guns over there.

Then I went to the Magjigang [the Tibetan Military Headquarters] where they had mounted machine guns near the flag. At the front, there were 2 bren-guns, and they had 2 mortars. I was carrying a 303 English Carbine and pistol in my pouch.

[Tashi Tsering: The [PLA] cannons fired continuously at Norbulinga].

Then just as the sun began to rise, the artillery started firing [at Shöl]. The glass on the windows were shattered and I kind of had a burning sensation in my nose. Before the cannons fired, they shot some kind of gun that made the sound, "ta ta ta."

**Q:** Where did they target it?

**A:** They were targeting the Potala and Shöl. The cannons fired from the 308th regiment in Trip [Tib. grib] were targeting the Potala. This was shot from heavy artillery. The other cannons fired just from a distance [answer not finished].

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: From where?

**A:** I swear by the Three Jewels that they were firing from everywhere. It was mortars and many people were killed.

**Q:** Did they fire near Garjang's house and your courtyard?

**A:** Yes, they did. I was on the wall and Ngagnam [Tib. ngag nam] was on this side and there were Trapchi soldiers over there. A cannon shell hit just below me and all the dust splashed up. So I couldn't see anything. The shell hit the wall, but I was thrown away on to the roof of the other house. I thought I had been killed, but nothing happened to me. Then I thought my protective talisman was really working. I left my gun over there. Then I went to the roof of Garjang and fired from the roof toward the TAR, but I couldn't see anyone. However, I still fired toward that direction.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: What time was then?

**A:** It was after sunrise, at around 10-11 a.m. The Chinese were firing their shells in a line one after another [this probably was a rocket launcher called [Tib. dgu shog]]. So then I decided to go up to the Potala. Up there I met the Nendrön who was the head of the Tseja office. He was then the head of the Trapchi soldiers who were stationed in the Potala. First the soldiers were called, and then they were ordered to fire bren-guns and they fired.

**Q:** Where did they shoot?

**A:** To the Chinese Military Headquarters. Then they were ordered to fire mortars. When they fired the mortars the shells didn't land in the TAR but instead landed in Shugtri Linga [Tib. bzugs khri gling ga] I was disappointed and told the soldiers, "Now, it is finished. This is ridiculous to fire the mortar like this and they had this kind of training." Then I didn't stay there. I thought I would be agitated so then I went to the upper part of the Potala called Shabranang [Tib. zhab ra'i nang]. There I saw that the Namgyel monks were firing sten-guns out from the window towards the TAR. How could it reach over there?

**Q:** What was the sten-gun?

Tashi Tsering: It was a German gun used for shooting short distances.

**A:** Then I told the monks, "Monks! Listen. This will never reach there. This is as same as throwing stones. Just stay here and wait until the Chinese get close and then shoot them." The monks replied, "Maybe, I wonder." I told them, "You can even test this and fire the sten-gun to a person on the roof of the Tratsang [Tib. grwa tshang]. Then you will know." Then one monk called Shedrupla [Tib. bshad sgrub lags] said, "The clerk is right. I went to practice in the Jerag [Tib. bye rag] in the sandy area and it didn't go farther than 20 steps."

Then I went to Norbulinga.

**Q:** Were you able to get through the road there?

**A:** Generally, we could go there. The Chinese were firing artillery, but I didn't see any Chinese troops at all. I went from the back of the Potala. The Rupön said to me, "Don't go on the road, many have been killed." But I said "I must go to see what is going on there because the phone was not going through."

**Q:** What time was it then?

**A:** Oh, about 4-5 pm. On the road I saw corpses of people, horses and cows. And the trees were all made as if the tops had been cut off.

**Q:** You mean in Norbulinga?

**A:** On the way. I saw that from Jogpori the Tibetan troops were firing at the TAR very strongly. From Bamari [hill behind gas station] they were firing to Kyangthang gang [Tib. rkyang thang sgang] [where there a Chinese motor corps was located and it was just north of Lhasa Hotel]. I felt very happy and I thought, "They are really doing good for the Tibetan Government."

**Q:** At that time, Jogpori was not lost, right?

**A:** Yes, it was the time when they were firing from there.

**Q:** Tashi Tsering: Was that on the 11th ?

**A:** Yes, it was the first day. When I arrived at Norbulinga the main gate was closed. Outside, there were soldiers.

**Q:** The masses were over there, right?

**A:** Yes, they were. They were yelling "kihihi kuhuhu" [normally, the Tibetan yell this when making war]. But there were no Chinese troops to be seen. So where should they fight? They were just acting aggressive by themselves.

**Q:** The Chinese just fired the cannons and didn't send soldiers, right?

**A:** Yes. If the Chinese had come, people were aggressive so definitely they would have killed the Chinese. The Chinese however, were firing cannons at them like stones falling from the sky, but when I arrived at that place the firing had stopped. Then both sides were firing small arms at each other. Inside Norbulinga, the artillery had killed many people. I went to the kitchen and the wall in front had fallen down. And one of the monk bodyguards of the Dalai Lama [Tib. singga], who had a red face and was nicknamed Tsimara [Tib. tsi dmar ba], was lying dead there near a broken wall.